

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-07
L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-07 TRSE-00 CU-02 DHA-02 IO-13 NSCE-00 SSO-00
USIE-00 INRE-00 OIC-02 /079 W
-----105713 182240Z /64

O R 182055Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1590
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION NATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 BELGRADE 4848

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV
FROM USDEL CSCE

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: CSCE
SUBJ: BELGRADE CSCE: JULY 18

SUMMARY: MORNING PLENARY SESSION WAS TAKEN UP BY DISCUSSION
OF DURATION, WITH WARSAW PACT DELS, ADVOCATING FIRM CLOSING
DATE IN VIRTUAL ISOLATION. WIDE SPECTRUM OF NATO, NEUTRAL
NON-ALIGNED (NNA), AND INDEPENDENT REPS SUPPORTED THE NEED
FOR A TARGET DATE PLUS CONSENSUS TO CLOSE. AS YET NO FIRM
INDICATION THAT THE SOVIETS INTEND TO MOVE OFF THEIR POSI-
TION DEMANDING A FIRM TERMINATION DATE. AFTERNOON SESSION
BEGAN A SECOND RUN-THROUGH OF NNA PAPER, DURING WHICH ALL DELS
STOOD BY POSITIONS DECLARED DRUING FIRST RUN-THROUGH, WITH
NOTABLE EXCEPTION BY POLISH DEL WHICH IN POINT 2 OF THE
ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION ASKED FOR LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD
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PROVIDE THAT ONLY THE PLENARY COULD ESTABLISH OTHER SUB-
SIDIARY WORKING BODIES. SEVERAL LESS CONTRO-
VERSIAL PARAGRAPHS OF NNA PAPER WERE PROVISIONALLY
REGISTERED, SOME WITH BRACKETS. END SUMMARY.

1. AUSTRIAN AND SWISS REPS SET TONE OF DAY'S DISCUSSION
WITH A DEFENSE OF THE DURATION FORMULA PRESENTED IN NNA

DRAFT AND WITH A WARNING THAT IT IS ALREADY FORMULATION OF "EXTREME COMPROMISE". SWISS REP STRESSED THAT SINCE THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE WILL BE A MODEL FOR FUTURE FOLLOW-UP CONFERENCES, IT WOULD BE SENSELESS, AT THIS PREPARATORY CONFERENCE, TO MAKE ANY FORECASTS AS TO HOW LONG IT SHOULD LAST, WITHOUT AT FIRST SOME EXPERIENCE WITH THE FALL MEETING ITSELF. HE MAINTAINED THAT A FIXED TERMINATION DATE WOULD UNDERMINE THE WHOLE CSCE PROCESS IF THE MAIN MEETING STOPPED BEFORE A FINAL DOCUMENT COULD BE ADOPTED DELINEATING FURTHER FOLLOW-UP MEASURES. THESE SENTIMENTS WERE SUPPORTED BY ALL OTHER DELEGATIONS WHO SPOKE WITH THE EXCEPTION OF THOSE OF THE WARSAW PACT. (ROMANIA HAD SUPPORTED WESTERN AND NNA VIEWS LAST SATURDAY AND DID NOT SPEAK ON THIS POINT TODAY.)

2. SOVIET REP (VORONTSOV) DECLARED HIS FULL SUPPORT FOR LAST SATURDAY'S POLISH PROPOSAL ON DURATION (FIXED TERMINAL DATE BEFORE END OF 1977), AND EMPHASIZED THAT THE ENVISAGED 12-14 WEEKS OF THE MAIN MEETING WOULD PROVIDE "AMPLE TIME FOR A THOROUGH, FERTILE EXCHANGE OF VIEWS". HE URGED ALL DELS TO APPROACH THE DURATION ISSUE "CONSTRUCTIVELY, IN A BUSINESS-LIKE WAY", AND DECRIED THE USE OF THE TERM "GUILLOTINE" IN THE PRESENTATIONS OF CERTAIN WESTERN DELS WHEN REFERRING TO A TERMINATION DATE. SOV REP, REJECTING THE NEED FOR A "LONG PHILOSOPHICAL DISCUSSION ON DURATION", THEN OUTLINED A CONFIDENTIAL

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SUGGESTED "COMPROMISE" SCHEME:

"FOR US 12-14 WEEKS IS SUFFICIENT FOR THIS WORK (OF THE MAIN MEETING). BUT IF SOME DELEGATIONS FEEL THIS IS NOT SUFFICIENT, WE WOULD BE PREPARED TO LISTEN, NOT TO LECTURES ON CONSENSUS, ALTHOUGH WE SUPPORT THE IDEA OF CONSENSUS, BUT TO CONCRETE THOUGHTS AS TO HOW MANY MORE WEEKS ARE NEEDED, SO THAT THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE MIGHT COMPLETE ITS TASKS SUCCESSFULLY. ONLY THIS PRACTICAL APPROACH CAN ENABLE US TO FIND SUCH A SOLUTION".

3. DURING COURSE OF THE MORNING EVERY WARSAW PACT DEL EXCEPT ROMANIA SUPPORTED POLISH AND SOVIET SUGGESTIONS. TOWARDS END OF THE DISCUSSION POLISH REP REJECTED ALL THE CRITICISM LEVELLED AT HIS PROPOSAL AND ADAMANTLY STUCK BY HIS STAND. NOTING THAT MOST DELS AGREED THAT THE MAIN MEETING SHOULD "NOT BE TOO LONG, SHOULD BE CONSTRUCTIVE AND A GOOD CONFERENCE", HE CLAIMED THAT SINCE THE WARSAW PACT DELS HAD ALREADY COMPROMISED ON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 BELGRADE 4848

FOR EUR/RPM, EUR/SOV

FROM USDEL CSCE

MANY ISSUES (WORKING GROUPS, AGENDA, ETC.) IT WAS NOT
UNREASONABLE TO EXPECT THAT "ON OCCASION OTHERS SHOULD
COME OVER TO OUR VIEW". BULGARIAN REP CLAIMED THAT A
DEADLINE FOR THE MAIN MEETING WOULD PRESENT NO MAJOR
DIFFICULTY IF ALL PARTICIPATING STATES COME TO THE BELGRADE
CONFERENCE WITH THE "POLITICAL WILL" TO CONDUCT THE MEET-
ING IN A "PRAGMATIC, CONSTRUCTIVE CONCRETE SPIRIT".
DURING THE DISCUSSION OF DURATION SEVERAL DELS (PORTUGAL,
CANADA, NETHERLANDS, GREECE) EXPRESSED THEIR PREFERENCE FOR
AN OCTOBER 3 OR 4 STARTING DATE AS OPPOSED TO THE ENVISAGED
SEPTEMBER 27.

4. AFTERNOON PLENARY MET AS A DRAFTING GROUP TO GO THROUGH
THE TEXT OF THE NNA PAPER FOR THE SECOND TIME, IN AN EFFORT
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TO CRYSTALLIZE AREAS OF AGREEMENT. WHILE SEVERAL PARAS

WERE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED WITH UNDERSTANDING THAT NOTHING WOULD BE FINAL UNTIL EVERYTHING IN THE PAPER WAS AGREED, MOST DELS REMAINED FIRM ON POSITIONS ADOPTED DURING THE FIRST RUN-THROUGH (THURSDAY-SATURDAY). IN ADDITION, POLAND SUPPORTED BY BULGARIA AND THE GDR, BROUGHT UP A SIGNIFICANT POINT IN POINT 2 OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION, WHICH HAD PASSED WITHOUT COMMENT DURING FIRST READING. POLISH REP ASKED THAT LAST SENTENCE OF POINT 2 BE WORDED AS FOLLOWS:

"OTHER SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES MAY BE SET UP BY THE PLENARY TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIC QUESTIONS."

BULGARIAN REP SUPPORTED THIS PROPOSAL AND SUGGESTED THE DELETION OF PHRASE "TO DEAL WITH SPECIFIC QUESTIONS". AFTER LENGTHY DISCUSSION IT WAS DECIDED TO BRACKET ALL AFTER PHRASE "BY THE PLENARY".

5. IN THE AGENDA SECTION THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON AGENDA POINTS 1, 3, 7 AND 9, AND THESE WERE PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED. EEC COUNTRIES HELD UP ACCEPTANCE OF AGENDA OVER POINTS 2 AND 8 OVER THE TECHNICALITY "REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTICIPATING STATES", WHICH IS LINED TO ACCEPTANCE OF A SATISFACTORY TITLE FOR THE PAPER. DISAGREEMENT AROSE OVER AGENDA POINT 3, IN PARTICULAR WHETHER THIS ITEM SHOULD APPEAR BEFORE OR AFTER POINT 4, AND THE ORDER OF SUBSECTIONS (A) AND (B). THIS AGENDA ITEM WAS THEREFORE REGISTERED WITH THE NUMBER (3) IN BRACKETS AND NOTING VIEWS THAT (A) AND (B) MIGHT BE REVERSED IF PLACEMENT OF AGENDA ITEM IS CHANGED.

6. ON ITEM 4 POLISH REP INDICATED READINESS TO ACCEPT THIS POINT AS IT STANDS BUT US REP ASKED THAT

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DISCUSSION OF ENTIRE POINT BE DEFERRED, SINCE IT IS LINKED TO WORDING OF ORGANIZATIONAL POINT 3.

7. SWISS REP POINTED TO LINKAGE BETWEEN POINTS 5 AND 6 AND DEFERRED ACCEPTANCE OF POINT 5 UNTIL THERE WAS AGREEMENT ON POINT 6. GDR REP THEN REPEATED HIS PROPOSED AMENDMENTS TO POINT 6 (REPLACE "CONCLUSIONS" WITH "RECOMMENDATIONS", AND DELETE ALL AFTER "ITEMS OF THE AGENDA"). THERE WAS THEN A COFFEE BREAK DURING WHICH THERE WAS INFORMAL AGREEMENT (SUBJECT TO CONFIRMATION NOTABLY BY ROMANIANS) TO WORD AGENDA POINT 6 AS FOLLOWS: "DRAFTING OF A CONCLUDING DOCUMENT WILL INCLUDE DECISIONS RELATING TO THE ABOVE-MENTIONED ITEMS OF THE AGENDA." IN ADDITION, THERE WOULD BE AN AGREED AND REGISTERED CHAIRMAN'S INTERDETATION THAT WORD "DECISIO " INCLUDES BOTH "RECOMMENDATION TO" AND "CONCLUSIONS", AND THAT IN

DEFINING MODALITIES FOR FUTURE MEETINGS "DATE AFI PLACE"
OF NEXT BELGRADE-STYLE MEETING WILL HAVE TO BE SET.

8. IN ORGANIZATIONAL SECTION, POINT 1 WAS REGISTERED,
WITH THE ONLY ALTERATION, THE ENUMERATION OF ALL THE AGENDA
ITEMS (I.E. 1, 2, 3A, AND 7, 8, 9). ON POINT 2, IN
ADDITION TO ABOVE -MENTIONED POLISH COMMENTS, UK REP ASKED
THAT TERM "PRINCIPAL ORGAN" BE CHANGED TO "MAIN BODY".
THIS WAS ACCEPTED, ALONG WITH INCLUSION OF WORD
"RESPECTIVE" BEFORE "SUBSIDIARY WORKING BODIES"
IN LINE 3.
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